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Abstract

The topic of terrorism has sparked discussions among scholars, government officials, and non-governmental organisations regarding its meaning, origins, causes, expressions, and consequences. It is commonly linked with religious extremism, especially Islam, but this overlooks its historical context, as terrorism has existed since the dawn of human civilisation. Terrorist groups of different genres have sometimes been identified as global actors that have impacted the course of history, particularly about peace and security. This paper analyses the evolution of terrorism by examining various regional examples, demonstrating how it is one of the oldest and most persistent global challenges, constantly increasing in complexity and sophistication.

Keywords: Anarchism, Anti-Colonialism, New leftism, Religious Fundamentalism

Introduction

Terrorism as a global phenomenon has touched virtually all the continents of the world. The global character of terrorism is attested to by the fact that victims of terrorist acts cut across different nationalities. Terrorism has not only continued to be on the increase but has also become more sophisticated and complex due, in part, to the global proliferation of weapon systems, especially those of mass destruction and advancement in information technology. The 1972 Munich Olympics in Germany is cited as an important landmark in the history of terrorism. During the attack by members of the Black September Organization, 11 Israeli athletes were killed.¹ The significance of this terrorist attack lay in the advancements in communications and extensive media coverage, as the attacks were, for the first time, shown live on television.² On 23rd October 1983, a then faceless Arab terrorist group (Hezbollah later

¹Harvey W. Kushner, *Encyclopedia of Terrorism*, (Sage Publication, 2003), 14

²Harvey W. Kushner, 247



claimed responsibility) bombed the United States Marine Battalion Landing Team Headquarters at the Beirut International Airport, where 241 American and 58 French service personnel were killed while over 100 people were injured.³

This paper discusses the development of terrorism, which has manifested itself in four waves, namely, anarchism, anti-colonialism, new leftism and religious fundamentalism.⁴ Anarchism, or the first wave of terrorism, is believed to have begun in the 1880s in Russia before spreading through Europe, Asia and parts of America.⁵ Anarchism was succeeded by the second wave of anti-colonialism. The "Anti-Colonial Wave" of terrorism began in the 1920s and lasted until the 1960s when it made way for the "New Left Wave,"⁶ which started in the 1960s and lasted till the 1990s.⁷ The fourth wave of terrorism – the "Religious Wave", especially Islamic fundamentalism began in 1979 in the aftermath of the Iranian Revolution and continues to date. This paper also examines important topics and arguments related to terrorism, such as the definitional ambiguities of the term, the geopolitical dynamics of terrorist activities across different continents, and the political and socioeconomic circumstances that fuel them.

Theoretical Explanations of Terrorism

Scholars have propounded theories as a means of engendering an understanding of terrorism. Some of the theories of terrorism have been drawn from analysis of the causes of terrorism. These theories include the actor-centred theory, the world system theory, the blowback theory, the sociological theory, the world economic theory, the political economy theory, the conflict theory, the frustration-aggression theory and the linkage theory. The actor-centred theory, as explained by Pape, seeks to explain terrorism based on an analysis of the victims of terror attacks.⁸ This theory suggests that terrorists primarily target individuals linked to the state they oppose.⁹ They view civilians as representatives of that state, making attacks on them indirect assaults on the state itself. In this light, civilian victims are not the main targets but rather symbols of the state the terrorists aim to destroy.¹⁰

The world system theory situates terrorism within the context of development and underdevelopment.¹¹ Proponents of this theory argue that terrorism by certain groups is largely a reaction to globalisation (Lizardo and Bergesen,

³Harvey W. Kushner, 247

⁴Mark Sageman, "Ripples in the Waves: Fantasies and Fashions," in Jean E. Rosenfeld ed., *Terrorism, Identity, and Legitimacy: The Four Waves Theory and Political Violence*, (London, 2011), 87-92.

⁵Mark Sageman

⁶Mark Sageman

⁷Mark Sageman

⁸Pape, Robert A. "The strategic logic of suicide terrorism." *American Political Science Review* 97, no. 3 (2003): 343-361.

⁹Lizardo, Omar. "Defining and theorising terrorism: A global actor-centred approach." *Journal of World-Systems Research* (2008): 91-118.

¹⁰Lizardo, Omar...

¹¹Lizardo, Omar A., and Albert J. Bergesen. "Types of terrorism by world system location." *Humboldt Journal of Social Relations* (2003): 162-192.

2003). Although terrorism existed before globalisation, the emergence of a "global village" has led to a resurgence, with many people considering religion to be a better option than the international system.¹² This idea connects to the Hegemonic Transition Theory, which posits those leading powers experience cycles of ascent, maturity, and decline.¹³ Terrorism is most likely during periods of decline, particularly in economically weak countries. Therefore, terrorism can be seen as both a reaction to and a consequence of globalisation, especially during economic downturns. The blowback theory, as propounded by Johnson,¹⁴ views terrorism as a reaction to the misuse of power by states. This theory posits that many terrorist attacks against the United States are a consequence of "blow-back" from prior U.S. actions abroad. It suggests that the significant military power of the U.S. leads citizens of targeted countries, unable to confront the U.S. militarily, to see terrorism as a form of resistance to American interventions.¹⁵ Terrorism, going by this theory, is more of a tit-for-tat retaliation for the actions of the state, while the civilian victims bear the consequences of previous actions by their government, which the terrorists believe must not go unpunished.

One school of thought of sociological theory contends that terrorism is nothing more than a reaction to the powers of the state by persons regarded as powerless.¹⁶ In this context, the powerful political and military elites dictate the pace of society, while the powerless members of the society are required to act accordingly. This often breeds injustice, and the response of the powerless to the perceived injustice and imbalances in power is often a resort to terrorism and other forms of political violence.¹⁷ A second school of thought sees terrorism and terrorists as acting under the motivation of 'ideologies of validation'.¹⁸ Terrorists acting under this influence are often possessed by messianic fervour and an urge to purge society of its inherently evil tendencies. This applies mainly to religious fundamentalist terror groups. The ideologies and beliefs of such groups are often different from the views of the majority of the members of the society.

Conflict theory evolved from the division of society into two classes – the rich and the poor.¹⁹ The rich, by their wealth, enjoy certain privileges which are not open to the poor. Proponents of this theory believe that this leads to injustice in society, and the oppressed are left with no option but to resort to violence,

12Hubschle, Annette. "The T-word: Conceptualising terrorism." *African Security Review* 15, no. 3 (2006): 2-18.

13Siebrits, André. "The role of great power war in the rise of hegemons: a study of Dutch hegemonic ascent in the modern world-system." PhD diss., Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch, 2010.

14Johnson, Chalmers. "Blowback." *The Nation* 273, no. 11 (2001): 13-15.

15Johnson, Chalmers...

16Boyns, David, and James David Ballard. "Developing a sociological theory for the empirical understanding of terrorism." *The American Sociologist* 35, no. 2 (2004): 5-25.

17Boyns, David, and James David Ballard...

18Jurgensmeyer, Mark. *Terror in the mind of God: The global rise of religious violence*. Vol. 13. Univ of California Press, 2017.

19Walton, John. "Urban conflict and social movements in poor countries: Theory and evidence of collective action." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 22, no. 3 (1998): 460-481.

especially against the government.²⁰ Given inadequate financial resources with which to fight the government, the resort to terrorism, apart from creating fear in the populace, is intended to expose the weakness of the government they are fighting. They posit that such people under this circumstance align with groups, including terrorist organisations, which seek to overthrow the government or system responsible for exploiting them. Terrorism, according to this theory, is therefore rooted in conflict and discrimination.

Linkage theory began as a tactic to negotiate concessions in Africa and military issues during the Cold War, especially under Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger.²¹ The term also refers to leveraging connections between events to maintain bargaining power. The theory explores the relationship between domestic state variables and international variables. Linkages can involve local, state, federal, and international governments, as well as entities beyond immediate surroundings. In today's interconnected world, various socio-political, economic, and security issues can spread from rural areas to global contexts. As a result, the activities of groups like ISIL and Al-Qaeda in the Middle East and Africa, including Somalia and Mali, can contribute to the rise of Boko Haram and ISWAP terrorism within Nigeria and beyond. Frustration-aggression theory (FAT), developed in 1939 by John Dollard *et al.*,²² has been modified by Berkowitz.²³ The main thrust of this theory states that the occurrence of aggressive behaviour always presupposes the existence of frustration and, contrary, that the existence of frustration always leads to some form of aggression. For example, Boko Haram primarily targets security personnel, whom they see as their main enemies. They also attack civilians suspected of collaborating with security forces. Additionally, the group targets economic sectors such as banks, markets, and places of worship, both in Nigeria and abroad, for financial gain.

Evolution of Global Terrorism

History is replete with many instances of activities of groups which can now be regarded as terrorist in nature. Beginning with the Zealots, terrorist activities have continued to grow through the ages. The Zealots were regarded as one of the first groups to practice wide-scale terrorism. Also known as the Sicarii, they were particularly active in Palestine, especially in the first century. Their terrorist acts were attributed to a Jewish rebellion against the instruction by the Roman authorities that a census of the people in the empire should be taken. This did not go down well with the Jews, who felt humiliated by what they saw

²⁰Özeren, Hüseyin Cinoğlu Ve Süleyman, Hüseyin Cinoğlu, and Süleyman Özeren.

"Classical Schools of Sociology and Terrorism." *Eskişehir Osmangazi Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 11, no. 2 (2010) 43-59.

²¹Larson, Deborah Welch. "Learning in US-Soviet Relations: The Nixon-Kissinger Structure of Peace." In *Learning in US and Soviet foreign policy*, pp. 350-399. Routledge, 2019.

²²Dollard, John, Neal E. Miller, Leonard W. Doob, Orval Hobart Mowrer, Robert R. Sears, Clellan S. Ford, Carl Iver Hovland, and Richard T. Sollenberger. *Frustration and aggression*. Routledge, 2013.

²³Berkowitz, Leonard. "Frustration-aggression hypothesis: examination and reformulation." *Psychological bulletin* 106, no. 1 (1989): 59.

as their subjugation to a foreign power.²⁴ The situation degenerated rapidly, with riots breaking out and the Zealots carrying out attacks on officials of the Roman Empire. The Zealots were what can be considered religious extremists, believing they were accountable only to God and thus rejected all earthly authorities. As a result of their extremist views, they carried out attacks not only against the Romans but against fellow Jews whom they regarded as liberal, using what were then regarded as unorthodox tactics such as launching attacks on their victims in broad daylight, especially during the celebration of festivals and in large crowds.²⁵

At this period in the evolution of terrorism, terrorists were more interested in the targeted assassination of individuals rather than the random mass killing of people. The aim then was to ensure that many people witnessed the killing of the targeted individuals, with caution being exercised to ensure that fewer people got killed in the process. This was in tandem with one of the objectives of terrorism, which is putting a large number of people in a state of fear. Terrorists then exhibited remarkable self-restraint in maximising the element of fear while limiting the number of casualties. According to Jenkins, terrorists felt obligated to maintain the group's ideology while avoiding actions that could lead to the alienation of the citizens.²⁶ This display of self-restraint by terrorists did not last for long, as terrorism moved to the next level of large-scale, indiscriminate violence intended to inflict maximum damage and casualty, helped in no small measure by the fact that the political idealism that was a prominent feature of earlier waves of terrorism was replaced with religious fundamentalism and ethnicisation.²⁷ The new-age terrorists were ready to murder millions of people – children, women, and civilians, if necessary just to pass their message across. In contrast to the terrorists of old, who were content with killing a few people while many more were watching, contemporary terrorists want to kill as many people as possible and equally have many people watching them do so.²⁸ In the new age of terrorism, no continent or region has been spared.

Terrorism in America

The earliest instance of terrorism in America is believed to have occurred when some white British settlers in the Jamestown colony were killed by members of the Powhatan Native Americans in 1622.²⁹ This attack was a direct result of the refusal of the native Americans to commit what they felt would amount to cultural suicide by jettisoning their culture and embracing that of the British,

24Gérard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin 'Zealots and Assassins' in Gérard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin (eds) *The History of Terrorism-From Antiquity to al-Qaeda* (University of California Press 2007) 55

25Walter Laqueur, *A History of Terrorism*, (Boston: Little, Brown 1977) 7-8

26Brian Michael Jenkins, 'The New Age of Terrorism' in *Terrorism, beyond Al-Qaeda*, RAND Corporation- www.rand.org Accessed on 11th April 2019.

27Brian Michael Jenkins

28Brian Michael Jenkins

29J. Fredrick Fausz, "The First Act of Terrorism in English America." *History News Network*, (January 16, 2006), <http://hnn.us/articles/19085.html> Cited by Beutel A.J. "Breach of Law, Breach of Security: A Muslim American Analysis of US Counterterrorism Policies" Paper Presented at AMSS 36th annual Conference October 26 – 28. 2007

who were intent on converting and educating the native Americans whom they regarded as 'savages'.³⁰ However, the classification of the actions of the Native Americans as terrorists by the British cannot be justified because the Native Americans, as indigenous people, had a right to protect their national and cultural identity. Thus, they were not under any duty to accept the imposition of a new cultural identity as proposed by the British.

In contrast, the activities of white supremacist groups in America are more likely to fall under the definition of terrorism. One such group is the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), which was formed in 1867 as a non-violent social organisation led by former Confederate General Nathan Bedford Forrest.³¹ It, however, later turned violent in about 1868, murdering, beating up and intimidating black voters and white supporters of the Republican Party. These activities earned the Ku Klux Klan the appellation of the 'oldest organised hate group in the United States.'³² According to Kushner,

although the Klan's original intent was to assert the supremacy of the white race over the newly freed black slaves, over the decades, the organisation widened the scope of its hatred to include Roman Catholics, Jews, immigrants, and homosexuals. The KKK has been a model for other extremist groups in the country, who have emulated Klan practices of intimidation and violence.³³

Over the following decades, the terrorist activities of the Ku Klux Klan went on unabated, culminating in the 1963 fatal bombing of the 16 Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, in which four young girls were killed. The United States government responded by taking steps which eventually drastically reduced the attacks by the Klansmen without completely eradicating them. The steps taken by the United States government did not include designating the Ku Klux Klan as a terrorist group or prosecuting the members for acts of terrorism or belonging to a designated terrorist organisation. This is unlike the reaction of the government of the United States to similar actions by groups outside the United States, such as al-Qaeda. This double standard may account for the continued existence of the Ku Klux Klan and similar white supremacist groups in the United States.

The United States has witnessed a series of terrorist attacks, one of which occurred on 29th December 1975, when a bomb exploded at New York City's La Guardia Airport, killing more than 10 and injuring more than 75 people.³⁴ Another attack occurred in 1995 when the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in

³⁰Crandall Shifflett, The Powhatan Indian Attack of March 22, 1622-Virtual Jamestown www.virtualjamestown.org/phatmass.html Accessed on 7th April 2017

³¹Brian Michael Jenkins, 'The New Age of Terrorism' in Terrorism, beyond Al-Qaeda, RAND Corporation- www.rand.org Accessed on 11th April 2019

³²Harvey Kushner, Encyclopedia of Terrorism, (Sage Publication, 2003)207

³³Harvey Kushner, 207

³⁴Michael Oreskes, Patrick Doyle and Harry Stathos, 'LaGuardia Airport bombing kills more than 10 in 1975' Available at <http://www.nydailynews.com/new-york/queens/laguardia-airport-bombing-kills-10-1975-article-1.2454144> accessed 5th August 2018

Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, was bombed. This attack claimed the lives of 168 people (including 19 children in a day care centre located within the building).³⁵ Timothy McVeigh and Terry Lynn Nichols were both arrested on suspicions of complicity in the bombing. On June 13, 1997, McVeigh was found guilty and sentenced to death by lethal injection. The sentence of the court was carried out on 11th June 2001. Nichols was found guilty on only one charge of conspiracy and eight charges of involuntary manslaughter and sentenced to life imprisonment.³⁶

What has been described as the deadliest terrorist attack to have taken place on American soil took place on 11 September 2001. On that day, a group of 19 young men from Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Lebanon, and the United Arab Emirates, in coordinated suicide attacks, hijacked four passenger jetliners, one *en route* from Boston to Los Angeles, which crashed into New York's World Trade Centre at 8:45 a.m., a second plane also from Boston to Los Angeles, was crashed into the south tower of the World Trade Centre.³⁷ A third aircraft bound for Los Angeles from Washington, D.C., crashed into the Pentagon, while the fourth aircraft crashed into a field in rural Pennsylvania.³⁸ The attacks left over 3,000 people dead.³⁹ They have been variously described as 'extraordinarily deadly',⁴⁰ marking a change in the use of 'airliners as a weapon rather than a bargaining tool',⁴¹ 'unexpected', and 'spectacular'.⁴² Far from being random or spontaneous attacks, the events of September 11, 2001, were allegedly well-planned ahead of time.⁴³

These attacks prompted one of the largest manhunts in history, namely the search for Osama bin Laden, accused of being the mastermind of the attack. Osama bin Laden was the founder and leader of the terrorist group *al-Qaeda* (loosely translated as 'the Base'). He had taken up arms against the United States for what he perceived as 'injustices visited upon Muslims by the United States'.⁴⁴ According to him,

We declared jihad against the US government because the US government... has committed acts that are extremely unjust, hideous, and criminal whether directly or through its support of the Israeli occupation of [Palestine]. And we

35 History.com 'Oklahoma City Bombing' Available at

<http://www.history.com/topics/oklahoma-city-bombing> accessed 5th August 2018

36 History.com 'Oklahoma City Bombing'

37 Brian Forst, *Terrorism, Crime and Public Policy* (Cambridge University Press, 2009) 92

38 Harvey Kushner, *Encyclopedia of Terrorism*, (Sage Publication, 2003), 326

39 Brian Forst, *Terrorism, Crime, and Public Policy* (Cambridge University Press, 2008) 92

40 Harvey Kushner, *Encyclopedia of Terrorism*, (Sage Publication, 2003), 327

41 Tristan Dugdale-Pointon, *Hijacking*,

www.historyofwar.org/articles/concepts_hijacking.html Accessed on 20th April 2015.

42 Murat Karagöz, 'September 11: A New Type of Terrorism' Text of Paper presented at the United Nations in New York, USA, available at <http://sam.gov.tr/wp-content/uploads/2012/02/MuratKaragoz.pdf> accessed 17th April 2017

43 Brian Forst, *Terrorism, Crime, and Public Policy* (Cambridge University Press, 2008) 93

44 Peter L. Bergen, *Holy War Inc. – Inside the Secret World of Osama bin Laden* (The Free Press, 2001) 28

believe the US is directly responsible for those killed in Palestine, Lebanon and Iraq. This US government abandoned humanitarian feelings by these hideous crimes. It transgressed all bounds and behaved in a way not witnessed before by any power or any imperialist power in the world. Due to its subordination to the Jews, the arrogance and haughtiness of the US regime have reached the extent that they occupied [Arabia]. For this and other acts of aggression and injustice, we have declared jihad against the US government because, in our religion, we must make jihad so that God's word is exalted to the heights and so that we drive the Americans away from all Muslim countries.⁴⁵

It was towards this end that Osama bin Laden launched a ferocious attack against the US through the members of the *al-Qaeda* terrorist organisation, which he had formed during the Cold War and which had succeeded in establishing footholds in several countries.⁴⁶ The ensuing war against terror declared by the United States led to regime changes in Afghanistan (accused of harbouring bin Laden) and Iraq (accused of aiding terrorists and amassing weapons of mass destruction). It equally led to the death of thousands of people, including Osama bin Laden, who was hunted for years and eventually killed in his hideout in Pakistan on 2nd May 2011. The reasons advanced by bin Laden for launching a campaign of terror against the United States can be seen as a classic manifestation of the blowback theory. These reasons show that the terror attacks were informed, inter alia, by actions of the United States government, which he considered to be unreasonable, such as the government's continued backing of Israel against Palestine⁴⁷ and the presence of American troops in his native land of Saudi Arabia.⁴⁸ His reaction to these grievances was to launch a series of terror attacks against targets in the United States and US interests in other countries.

Terrorism in Latin America

Terrorism in America was not confined to the United States of America but also thrived in Latin America during the second wave of terrorism through the activities of liberation and nationalist groups. The activities of these groups received a fresh boost following the end of the Second World War, which heralded nationalism and the quest for independence by people still under the yoke of colonial rule. Terrorism, in this sense, was transformed into a tactic for the attainment of independence from foreign rule.⁴⁹ These groups were re-invigorated and imbued with nationalist and ethnic separatist ideologies and a desire to liberate their countries from the grip of colonialism. Allied to the rise of radical ideologies were the decisions taken by leaders of the nations, which emerged victorious at the Paris Peace Conference that marked the end of the

⁴⁵Peter L. Bergen, 19

⁴⁶Peter L. Bergen, 19

⁴⁷Peter L. Bergen, 19

⁴⁸Peter L. Bergen, 19

⁴⁹Gérard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin, *History of Terrorism*, Op Cit, 217

First World War and was conceptualised by American President Woodrow Wilson. The United States had come up with the idea that all people had a right to self-determination and to choose the form of government they wanted.⁵⁰ As envisioned by the American president, this was to involve

...a free, open-minded, and impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty, the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.⁵¹

Left-wing terrorism in central and south (Latin) America was also partially influenced by the dictum popularised by Mao Tse Tung, eulogising the importance of violence in the acquisition of power.⁵² The left-wing groups adopted this as their credo, and it shaped their activities. Another impetus for the growth of this brand of terrorism in Latin America was the success of the Cuban revolution. The triumph of the Cuban revolution and the ascension to power of Fidel Castro led to a revival of left-wing terrorism through most parts of Latin America. For instance, the *Tupamaros*, a terrorist group in Uruguay, engaged in the kidnapping of key political figures in the country in a bid to frustrate the smooth running of the government.⁵³ The group also engaged in the assassination of important personalities in the society. In this way, the assassination of police officers proved to be an important strategy for this terrorist group. The funds for the operations of the *Tupamaros* were partly obtained from robbing banks.⁵⁴

In Peru, the terrorist group Shining Path of Peru, founded in the 1970s by Abimael Guzman Reynoso, a former Professor of Philosophy, was quite active. Influenced by the ideology of the Chinese leader Mao Tse Tung, this left-wing terror organisation was able to attract students from different universities in Peru. In 1980, The Shining Path group embarked on a violent campaign targeting the army, police and prominent members of the government to overthrow the government, which it regarded as 'bourgeois' and replace it with amore people-oriented government.⁵⁵ Surprisingly, the Shining Path concentrated on targets in the rural areas, randomly targeting members of the public, peasants, and trade unionists, and destroying electricity, telecommunications and rail facilities. In this regard, the activities of this group bear a striking resemblance to the activities of Boko Haram in Nigeria, which

⁵⁰Margaret Macmillan, Paris 1919: Six Months that Changed the World. (Random House, 2002) 11

⁵¹ Margaret Macmillan, 495

⁵² "Problems of War and Strategy" (November 6, 1938), Selected Works, Vol. II, p. 224. Available at <https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/works/red-book/ch05.htm> Quotations from Mao Tse Tung to the effect that 'power grows out of the barrel of a gun'. Accessed on 7th October 2018

⁵³Arturo C. Porzecanski, Uruguay's Tupamaros –The Urban Guerrilla (Praeger Publishers, 1973) 40-41

⁵⁴Arturo C. Porzecanski

⁵⁵ Brian Forst, Terrorism, Crime, and Public Policy (Cambridge University Press, 2008) 152

aimed to replace Nigeria's secular government with a religious one based on the Sharia. The targets of Shining Path were like that of Boko Haram terror campaigns, which included peasants, government workers, politicians and the destruction of telecommunications and other public facilities. This was ironic because the main aim of these groups included the installation of governments which would adequately cater to the needs of the downtrodden members of the society – who, in this case, became victims of its terror campaigns.

The activities of the Shining Path, especially the establishment of tribunals in territories under its control for the trial and execution of persons it considered as 'traitors', eventually alienated the group from the people it sought to liberate. At the height of its campaign of terror in the 1990s, the Shining Path was allegedly responsible for the death of tens of thousands of people until the arrest, trial and conviction of its founder, Guzman, in 1992.⁵⁶ The Peronist *Montoneros* terror group in Argentina was allegedly responsible for a series of terrorist attacks, including the assassination of former President Aramburu in May 1970. Relying on bombs, this terrorist group's campaign initially targeted foreigners whom it accused of exploiting Argentina. With time, its targets expanded to include politicians, labour union activists, the military and police officers. At the peak of its campaign of terror, the group was responsible for the murder of hundreds of people and the destruction of several public and military facilities. The United States was also not left out of the left-wing inspired terrorism. The *Symbionese* Liberation Army (SLA) embarked on a campaign of violence inspired by left-wing ideology, influenced by Maoist ideology and the activities of other left-wing groups in Latin America. The funding of this group was from kidnapping for ransom and bank robberies.⁵⁷

Terrorism in Europe

Europe has not been insulated from the activities of terrorists and terrorist organisations. The continent has played host to several terrorist organisations such as the Irish Republican Army (IRA), Al-Qaeda, Euzkadi ta Askatasuna (ETA), Fronte di Liberazione Nazionale di a Corsica (FLNC), Fuerzas Armada Revolucionarias de Colombia (FARC), and Black September Movement, amongst others. The Irish Republican Army (IRA) was formed in 1919 with the sole aim of engendering the re-unification of the Republic of Ireland with Northern Ireland, which was a province of the United Kingdom.⁵⁸ While the majority of Ireland's population was Roman Catholic and yearned for independence from the British, the Protestant part of Ireland preferred to remain as a part of Great Britain. The activities of the IRA were in part responsible for the Anglo-Irish War between 1919 and 1921, culminating in a peace treaty which called for the partitioning of Ireland.⁵⁹ The decades that followed witnessed a series of attacks targeted mainly at Britain.

A split in the ranks of the IRA, however, led to the formation of the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA) in 1969. This group was described as the most

⁵⁶Brian Forst

⁵⁷Brian Forst

⁵⁸Brian Forst

⁵⁹ Harvey Kushner, *Encyclopedia of Terrorism*, (Sage Publication, 2003) 176

lethal group in Western Europe due to the deadly terror attacks it carried out.⁶⁰ Between August 1985 and September 1986, the IRA reportedly received 150 tons of weapons and explosives in four shipments from Libya to assist it in its terror campaign.⁶¹ The British counter-terrorism strategy eventually impeded the success of further terror attacks by the IRA, who were forced to negotiate peace with the British. This led to the Good Friday agreement on April 12, 1998, which provided for a power-sharing agreement between the Catholics and Protestants, among other far-reaching changes.⁶² This was followed by the 2002 apology tendered by the IRA to the civilian victims of its campaign of terror. However, the Good Friday agreement and the apology have not succeeded in eradicating terrorism in Britain or Ireland, as there are still pockets of terror attacks by elements sympathetic to the cause of the IRA and also by other terrorist groups.

Terrorism was also employed as a tool in Russia for the advancement of the ideals of the Russian Revolution. The use of terrorism was championed by the *Narodnaya Volya* (The People's Will) and the Socialist Revolutionary Party, while the Social Democratic movement was opposed to terrorism.⁶³ The Russian brand of terrorism was unique because most of the terrorists were atheists and, as such, were prepared to sacrifice their lives for others, and unlike the Islamic suicide terrorists that came after them, they were prepared to do this with no expectation of any reward in the next world. Germany was also a victim of terrorist attacks by groups such as the Red Army Faction (RAF), a left-wing extremist group.⁶⁴ This group later transformed from an extremist group to a full-fledged terrorist group responsible for carrying out terrorist attacks over 30 years, beginning in 1970 and ending in 1998. The attacks included the killings of persons opposed to their ideals, kidnapping, assaults, and bank robberies, among others.⁶⁵

The Italian Red Brigades, another far-left extremist group, was formed in Italy with the set goal of bringing down the government, which they considered corrupt.⁶⁶ The group's activities were initially confined to sabotage and disruption of services in the country's Industrial centres, but by 1974, kidnapping for ransom, terrorist activities against federal police and court officials, and murder were added to the group's activities. The activities of the group ended in the 1980s, at which time they had allegedly committed a series of violent acts in the course of their campaign of terror.⁶⁷

⁶⁰Harvey Kushner

⁶¹Harvey Kushner

⁶²Harvey Kushner, 184

⁶³ Gérard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin (eds) *The History of Terrorism: From Antiquity to Al Qaeda*, 133

⁶⁴ Brian Forst, *Terrorism, Crime, and Public Policy* (Cambridge University Press, 2008) 153

⁶⁵Brian Forst

⁶⁶Brian Forst

⁶⁷Brian Forst

Terrorism in Asia

The growth of terrorism in the modern Middle East has been traced to the Balfour Declaration, which legitimised the creation of a Jewish state.⁶⁸ in the Palestinian territory without regard to the native Palestinian Arabs who were already under occupation.⁶⁹ In reaction to this declaration, violent confrontations broke out between the Jews and the Palestinian Arabs from as early as 1920 and evolved over the decades to the present-day terrorist attacks targeted at Israel and Israeli interests.⁷⁰ The Palestinians have also been credited with initiating the use of terrorism as a publicity stunt.⁷¹ The Iranian revolution, which took place in 1979, has been credited with advancing the cause of radical Islamism and the attendant violent terrorism, especially the evolution of suicide terrorism.⁷² Terrorism received an added boost through the 1979 invasion of Afghanistan by the defunct Soviet Union, a move that was fiercely resisted by the Afghans and which provided an excuse for the United States intervention in Afghanistan. The United States' intervention had grave implications for the course of terrorism in the Middle East. This was so because

..the United States, with the financing of Saudi Arabia and the collaboration of Pakistan, which provided logistical support, haven, and training centres, gave telling assistance to the Afghan resistance fighters. Radical Islamists from the Middle East and other Muslim regions began to pour in from the very onset of the war to participate in the Jihad in any number of ways. Many received their religious and military training on the battlefield...Among the diverse movements involved in the Afghan resistance, the United States opted to back the most radical of Islamists, Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, leader of the Hezbilslami, or Islamic Party.⁷³

The resultant Afghan war provided an impetus for the growth of terrorism, especially the religious variant, for several reasons. In the first place, this war made it possible for Afghan and non-Afghan fighters to receive military training, especially in the use of firearms and explosives.⁷⁴ The United States and Pakistan were responsible for providing the funds and expertise for the training of thousands of Muslims who trooped to Afghanistan to participate in the *jihad* (holy war). As explained by Ahmed:

With the active encouragement of the Central Intelligence Agency and Pakistan's ISI, who wanted to turn the Afghan jihad into a global war waged by all Muslim states against the Soviet Union, some 35,000 Muslim radicals from 40

68Gérard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin 'Terrorism in Time of War- From World War II to the Wars of National Liberation' in Gérard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin (eds) *The History of Terrorism: From Antiquity to Al Qaeda*, 212

69Gérard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin

70Gérard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin

71 Gérard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin 220

72Gérard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin

73 Gérard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin, 221

74 Paul R. Pillar, *Terrorism and U.S. Foreign Policy* (Brookings Institution, 2001) 46

Islamic countries joined Afghanistan's fight between 1982 and 1992. Tens of thousands more came to study in Pakistani Madrasahs. Eventually, more than 100,000 foreign Muslim radicals were directly influenced by the Afghan jihad.⁷⁵

At the end of the war, the non-Afghan fighters or radicals returned to their different countries, well-trained in the use of firearms and ready to put this training to use to advance the causes they espoused in their countries. Secondly, the Afghan was credited with bringing Osama bin Laden to global attention.⁷⁶ The Afghan war served as a launching pad for projecting Osama to the global stage as a career terrorist and the rallying point for Islamic fundamentalism and terrorism.⁷⁷ Discussions on terrorism in the Middle East, and indeed globally, would be incomplete without mentioning the influence of Osama bin Laden and the *Taliban*. The word '*Taliban*' has been described as meaning groups of 'religious' students.⁷⁸ From this beginning, as a group of religious students, the *Taliban* later took control of Afghanistan and provided a haven for terrorists and facilities for the training of terrorists. However, the successful takeover of power in Afghanistan by the *Taliban* has been linked partly to the assistance they had received from the US government during the Afghan war.⁷⁹

Osama bin Laden was a veteran of the Afghan war, after which he returned to his native Saudi Arabia, where he received an Islamic hero's welcome.⁸⁰ However, after his return, he found it difficult to adjust to life in his native Saudi Arabia, due in part to the pervading corruption in Saudi society and what he regarded as the hypocrisy of the ruling class.⁸¹ His discontent was worsened by the response of Saudi Arabia to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1991. This invasion had placed Saudi Arabia under the same threat, especially as it had no standing army. To ward off this threat, Osama bin Laden suggested to the Saudi regime that it could make use of the Arab *Mujahideen*, which he believed had earlier defeated the Soviet Union in Afghanistan and caused it to withdraw from that country.⁸² This suggestion was rejected by the Saudis, who chose instead to allow the Americans to bring in their troops, mainly Christians, who were thereafter stationed in two of the three holiest sites of Islam – Mecca and Medina.⁸³

75 Ahmed Rashid. 'The Taliban: Exporting Extremism' Foreign Affairs, November-December 1999 Available at

http://www.indianembassy.org/policy/Terrorism/think_tank/taliban_extremism_fa_nov_99.htm accessed on 11th May 2018

76 William F. Shughart, 'An Analytical History of Terrorism', 1945–2000 Available at <http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007%2Fs11127-006-9043-y> Accessed on 5th January 2018

77 Tom Lansford, 'Great Lives from History- Osama bin Laden' Available at http://salempress.com/store/pdfs/bin_laden_bio.pdf Accessed on 5th January 2018

78 Peter Bergen, Holy War Inc. Op cit, 13

79 Philippe Migaux 'Al Qaeda' in Gérard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin (eds) The History of Terrorism: From Antiquity to Al Qaeda, 316

80 Philippe Migaux

81 Philippe Migaux

82 Philippe Migaux

83 Philippe Migaux, 317

This did not go down well with Bin Laden, who saw the action of the Saudi government in inviting the Americans to the country as an insult to the Islamic religion.⁸⁴ This incident shaped his life-long perception of America and his desire to exact revenge for this humiliation. He believed that the Saudi action was a humiliation for all Muslims.⁸⁵ Rather than remain in Saudi Arabia under these circumstances, he chose to go into exile in Sudan and from thence to Afghanistan, where he was warmly received by the Taliban, who offered him protection because of the role they believed he had played in driving out the Soviets from Afghanistan.⁸⁶ The origin of the al Qaeda terrorist group, which Osama bin Laden later headed, is shrouded in mystery. While most commentators thought that the group was founded by bin Laden,⁸⁷ some others believed that al Qaeda was founded by Abdallah Azzam, who reportedly coined the phrase *al-Qaeda al-subah* (the solid base).⁸⁸ The group, made up of Arab volunteers who had fought in the Afghan war, was expected to participate in the greater war ahead, that is, the re-conquest of the Muslim world.⁸⁹ In the years following the Afghan war, al Qaeda had emerged as a global terrorist organisation and had equally influenced many radical, Islamic fundamentalist terror groups, including the Islamic State of Iraq and Greater Syria and the Nigerian terror group Boko Haram.

The emergence of the Islamic State of Iraq and Greater Syria (hereinafter referred to as ISIS) as a formidable and vicious terror group in the Middle East and the extension of its stronghold in Iraq and Syria has increased the tempo of terrorist activities in that region. The ISIS is now regarded as the greatest terrorist threat since the emergence of al-Qaeda.⁹⁰ The ISIS has been described as a violent group notorious for mass abductions of civilians and public beheadings of those opposed to its ideals.⁹¹ The blame for the coming into being of ISIS has been repeatedly laid at the doorstep of the United States government, especially its actions in Iraq.⁹² Proponents of this viewpoint argue that when the US invaded Iraq and removed its President Saddam Hussein from power, it destroyed the structure of government and created a power vacuum, which ISIS stepped in to fill.⁹³ This group was initially formed as an insurgent group in Iraq in 2006, with affiliation to al Qaeda but without any real financial resources to embark on a sustained membership recruitment drive. All these changed when the group went into an alliance with members of the defeated Iraqi Baathist regime of Saddam Hussein, angered by their fall from power.⁹⁴

84Philippe Migaux

85 Philippe Migaux

86 Peter Bergen, Holy War Inc. – Inside the Secret World of Osama bin Laden (The Free Press, 2001)93

87 Writers like William F. Shughart, are of the opinion that al Qaeda was created by Osama bin Laden.

88 Philippe Migaux, 314

89Philippe Migaux

90 Ben Swann 'Truth in Media: The Origin of ISIS' Available at www.truthinmedia.com Accessed on 15th January 2016.

91Ben Swann

92 Angela Keaton a terrorism analyst, was quoted in Ben Swann

93Ben Swann

94Fawaz A. Gerges, 'ISIS and the Third Wave of Jihadism' [2014], Current History; 339

This combination is said to account for the unrestrained barbarity and savagery of ISIS.⁹⁵

With a fighting force of over 30,000 men, allegedly trained by elite members of Saddam Hussein's disbanded army, ISIS became notorious for its acts of terrorism.⁹⁶ The group's plan to embark on this campaign of unprecedented blood-letting has been summarised in the following words of its leader, Abu Musab al-Zarqawi:

We will fight for the cause of God until His sharia prevails. The first step is to expel the enemy and establish the state of Islam. We would then go forth to reconquer the Muslim lands and restore them to the Muslim nation...I swear by God that even if the Americans had not invaded our lands together with the Jews, the Muslims would still be required not to refrain from jihad but go forth and seek the enemy until only God Almighty's sharia prevailed everywhere in the world...Our political project is to expel this marauding enemy. This is the first step. Afterwards, our goal is to establish God's sharia all over the globe...⁹⁷

Towards this end, ISIS has captured large swaths of land in Iraq and Syria, with plans to extend its territory further. ISIS has also made maximum use of the technology provided by the internet to circulate videos of its numerous beheadings and other forms of cruel death intended to terrorise the public.⁹⁸ Terrorist activities in China have been traced to the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1990. This event and the coming to power of the Taliban in Afghanistan, served as a stimulus for the agitation for a separatist state by the "East Turkestan" movement. These factors also created a favourable environment for terrorist attacks by the extremists⁹⁹ who relied on support from the Taliban and al-Qaeda to build up cross-border networks, especially with Osama bin Laden who was quoted as sending words of support and encouragement to them.¹⁰⁰ This group was responsible for a series of terrorist attacks in China, which left dozens of people dead.¹⁰¹

⁹⁵Fawaz A. Gerges

⁹⁶Fawaz A. Gerges

⁹⁷Ahmed S. Hashim, 'From Al-Qaida Affiliate to the Rise of the Islamic Caliphate: The Evolution of the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (Isis)' Policy Report December 2014, S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies quoted a translation of an old Al-Zarqawi Interview, which says God's Law Must Rule 'Entire World,' Available at <https://www.opensource.gov/portal/server.pt/gateway/> accessed on 6th September 2017

⁹⁸Ahmed S. Hashim

⁹⁹ Pan Guang, 'China's anti-terror strategy and China's role in global anti-terror cooperation' [2004] (2) Asia Europe Journal;523

¹⁰⁰Pan Guang

¹⁰¹Pan Guang

Terrorism in Africa

Historically, Africa has played a role in several high-profile terrorist activities that originated in other parts of the world. For example, in June 1976, Palestinian terrorists hijacked a commercial Air France plane carrying 248 passengers and forced it to land in Entebbe, Uganda. Though this was quickly resolved through a raid by the Israeli Defence Forces under Moshe Dayan, it nevertheless illustrated the dimension of global terrorism and the African continent. In apparent retaliation for allowing Israeli troops to refuel in Nairobi during the Entebbe raid, the Jewish-owned Norfolk Hotel in Nairobi was bombed by terrorists linked to the Palestinian Liberation Organization killing at least 15 and injuring 80 people.

In North Africa, the late Libyan ruler, Muammar Gaddafi was accused of supporting global terrorism as exemplified in his alleged support of anti-Western terrorist organizations such as the Irish Republican Army (IRA) in Ireland, and the Spanish Basque Separatist Movement ETA.¹⁰² Gaddafi's role in global terrorism was allegedly demonstrated in the 21st December 1988 bombing of the PAN AM Flight 103 in Lockerbie, Scotland, which earned him broad United Nations (UN) sanctions. Gaddafi diplomatically ended the sanctions by agreeing to pay compensation of up to £2.5 million to the family of each of the 207 victims in exchange for ending the UN arms and air embargo on Libya in 2004.¹⁰³ Similarly, the Islamist ideology that has come to inspire many neo-jihadist groups today started in Egypt with the emergence of the *Ikhwan al-Muslimun* (Muslim Brotherhood) in 1928.¹⁰⁴ In the 1960s, Sayyid Qutb, a prominent leader of the Muslim Brotherhood laid the foundation for the Islamic justified violence that has repeatedly expressed itself in various terrorist movements, including Al-Qaeda and ISIS who have now become the principals of global religious terrorism today.

Africa has equally had its share of the terrorism scourge. Over the decades, Africa has played host to several terrorist groups and their activities. For example, Sudan has notoriously provided a haven for terrorists, including Osama bin Laden and his *al Qaeda* terrorist group and has been described as the first in Africa to get involved in international terrorism.¹⁰⁵ Terrorist activities, which took place in Sudan in the 1980s include the attacks on the Saudi Arabian embassy and the assassination of the American ambassador.¹⁰⁶ Sudan's profile as a hub for terrorists was boosted by the arrival of Osama bin Laden there in 1991 at the invitation of Hassan al-Turabi, the Sudanese leader. Osama bin Laden remained in Sudan for five years, building upon his *al Qaeda* terrorist group before moving on to Afghanistan.¹⁰⁷ This period also witnessed increased indoctrination of the between 1000 and 2000 members of *al Qaeda* in the

102 www.history.co.uk/colonel-gadaffi - Accessed on 20th July 2018

103 www.history.co.uk/colonel-gadaffi

104 Harvey W. Kushner, *Encyclopedia of Terrorism*, (Sage Publication, 2003) 231

105 Princeton N. Lyman, 'The War on Terrorism in Africa' in John Harbeson, (ed.) *Africa in World Politics* (Westview Press, 2013) Available at https://www.cfr.org/content/thinktank/Lyman_chapter_Terrorism.pdf accessed on 6th May 2018

106 Princeton N. Lyman

107 Princeton N. Lyman

Sudan.¹⁰⁸ Sudan also allegedly provided an opportunity for *al Qaeda* to make attempts to get their hands on weapons¹⁰⁹ in the form of 'enriched uranium'¹¹⁰ although it is not certain if they were successful in their quest.¹¹¹

Terrorism in Sudan went beyond providing a haven for renowned terrorists and terror groups as the Darfur region of that country had been engulfed in crisis following the 2003 rebellion by the two rebel groups in the region, which accused the Sudanese government of years of wilful neglect.¹¹² Rather than seek a peaceful solution to this crisis, the Sudanese government embarked on aggressive repression, using the counter-insurgency campaign to arm pro-government militias and rebel groups who were encouraged to attack the people of Darfur.¹¹³ Under the government's encouragement these militia groups, especially the *Janjaweed*, proceeded to attack the rebels' communities in Darfur.¹¹⁴ This action by the Sudanese government can be regarded as state terrorism. It has also been described as a crime against humanity for which an arrest warrant was issued by the International Criminal Court in 2009 against the now-former Sudanese president, Omar Hassan al-Bashir.

Somalia another North African country became notorious as a breeding ground for terrorists in mid-2006 and had been described as a

...chaotic, poor, battle-weary Muslim country with no central government and a long, unguarded coastline. Its porous borders mean that individuals can enter without visas, and once inside the country, enjoy an almost complete lack of law enforcement. Somalia has long served as a passageway from Africa to the Middle East based on its coastal location on the Horn of Africa, just a boat ride away from Yemen. These aspects make Somalia a desirable haven for transnational terrorists, something al-Qaeda has tried to capitalize on before and is trying again now.¹¹⁵

The Islamic Court Union eventually came to power following years of fighting for control of the country by various clannish warlords. Somalia had slid into anarchy following the fall of the then President Siad Barre in 1991 with several warlords struggling for control of the capital, Mogadishu. The intense rivalry with time, culminated in the overthrow of the Islamic Court Union and the ascension to power of the hitherto fringe insurgent group, *al Shabaab*.¹¹⁶ Indeed, the group, like *Boko Haram*, started as a rag-tag army in 2005 and

108Princeton N. Lyman, 83

109Princeton N. Lyman

110Princeton N. Lyman

111Princeton N. Lyman

112 Thompson Reuters Foundation 'Darfur Conflict' Available at www.trust.org/./Darfur-conflict Accessed on 15th January 2017

113Thompson Reuters Foundation

114Thompson Reuters Foundation

115Julie Cohn, 'Terrorism Havens: Somalia' Available at

<http://www.cfr.org/somalia/terrorism-havens-somalia> Accessed on 15th January 2018

116Julie Cohn

became a sophisticated military force in 2009.¹¹⁷ *Al Shabaab* is literally translated to mean 'the youth' and began as the armed wing of the Islamic Courts Union.¹¹⁸ It believes in the strict implementation of the *Sharia* law and furtherance of this goal and has been responsible for a spate of terror attacks within and outside Somalia, including, but not limited to:

- i. Series of bomb attacks in the Somalia capital Mogadishu;¹¹⁹
- ii. 147 were killed in an attack on the Garissa University College in Kenya in April 2015;¹²⁰
- iii. The September 2013 attack on the Westgate shopping mall in Nairobi, Kenya, which left at least 67 people dead.¹²¹

Over the years, *al Shabaab* has moved from being an inconsequential insurgent group to one of the deadliest terror organisations in the world going by available records of atrocities attributed to the group. The tactics employed by the group in its terror campaigns have similarly witnessed a dramatic change from hit-and-run attacks to well-coordinated attacks. Horne explained that

very dramatic changes have also happened in *Al Shabaab*. It has become what many Somalis and most external observers had always feared, and even worse. It 'hardened' over the years of fighting against the TFG and Ethiopian troops. Currently, *Al Shabaab* fields several thousand trained fighters. Its tactics have changed, from hit-and-run ambushes to sophisticated suicide missions and remote-controlled bombs that have taken scores of lives (of armed enemies and civilians). In contrast to the period from 2006 to 2007, *Al Shabaab* now also controls and administers territories and communities.¹²²

The Nigerian terror group *Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati Wat Jihad* (people committed to the propagation of the Prophet's Teachings and Jihad and more popularly known as Boko Haram) has been engaged in a campaign of terror against the Nigerian state and its people, especially in the north-eastern part of the country, which is the group's theatre of operations. The name 'Boko Haram' was derived from two separate words '*Boko*' and '*Haram*', which was borne out of the sect's anti-Western posturing, and literally means 'Western education

117Markus Virgil Hoehne 'Counter-terrorism in Somalia: How external interference helped to produce militant Islamism' Available at

http://webarchive.ssrc.org/Somalia_Hoehne_v10.pdf Accessed on 15th January 2018

118Julie Cohn, 'Terrorism Havens: Somalia' Available at

<http://www.cfr.org/somalia/terrorism-havens-somalia> Accessed on 15th January 2018

119Available at <https://www.ecoi.net/news/190134::somalia/126.al-shabaab-chronology-of-events-since-january-2012.htm> Accessed on 5th February 2018

120Available at <http://edition.cnn.com/2015/04/02/africa/kenya-university-attack/>

121Available at <http://edition.cnn.com/2015/04/02/africa/kenya-university-attack/>

122Markus Virgil Hoehne, 'Counter-terrorism in Somalia: How external interference helped to produce militant Islamism' Available at

http://webarchive.ssrc.org/Somalia_Hoehne_v10.pdf Accessed on 15th January 2018

(book)/civilization is sin.¹²³ The term '*Boko*' is the Hausa word for Western education, while '*Haram*' is an Arabic word which figuratively means 'sin' but means 'forbidden.'¹²⁴ Thus when these words are used together in the Hausa language, what comes out is 'Western education is forbidden' or Boko Haram.¹²⁵

Boko Haram has been credited with pioneering the use of suicide bombers in Nigeria. Before the advent of its use as a favoured tactic by this group, most Nigerians would never have believed that it was possible in the country. Whereas at the onset of its violent campaign, Boko Haram's tactics were mainly targeted assassinations, drive-by shootings, and hit-and-run attacks. However, 2011 marked a turning point with the introduction of suicide bombings.¹²⁶ Another violent innovation by Boko Haram was the use of girls and women as suicide bombers. The use of female suicide bombers by this group began on 8th June 2014 when its first female suicide bomber detonated a bomb concealed in her hijab at the 301 Battalion Barracks of the Nigerian Army in Gombe State.¹²⁷ The attack claimed the lives of the female suicide bomber and a soldier.¹²⁸ Since that first incident, there has been an avalanche of suicide attacks by females.

Boko Haram, which has been described as 'the world's deadliest terror group' after killing 6,644 people in one year (2014) marked its reign of terror on Tuesday, April 15, 2014, with an attack on the Government Secondary School, Chibok, Borno state, in northern Nigeria, which led to the abduction of an estimated 276 young school girls from their school dormitories.¹²⁹ Similarly, 110 girls were abducted from their school in Dapchi, Yobe state in February 2018. The abduction of the "Chibok girls" generated international uproar, largely due to the ages and the number of girls who became victims of Boko Haram's terrorism. At the height of the global outrage over the kidnapping of the Chibok girls, Boko Haram released a video recording, which showed about 100 of the girls, allegedly a part of the Chibok girls, reciting Quranic verses and stating that they had now converted to Islam. The leader of the Boko Haram group Mohammed Shekau also stated in the video that he abducted the girls and would sell them off in the slave market.¹³⁰ Justifying these plans, he stated that they were permitted by the Koran.¹³¹ Indeed the atrocities of this group appear to be boundless, consisting in the main of mimicry of the atrocious acts of al Qaeda and ISIS – bombings, forced occupation of captured towns, beheadings,

123 Simeon H.O. Alozieuwa, 'Contending Theories on Nigeria's Security Challenge in the Era of Boko Haram Insurgency' [2012] (7) (1) Peace & Conflict Review; 1

124 Abimbola Adesoji, 'The Boko Haram uprising and Islamic revivalism in Nigeria' [2010], (45) (2), African Spectrum; 95

125 Marc-Antoine Pérouse de Montclos, 13

126 David Cook, 'Boko Haram the New Islamic State in Nigeria'

127 Freedom C. Onuoha, and Temilola A. George, 'Boko Haram's use of Female Suicide Bombing in Nigeria' A Report prepared for Al Jazeera Centre for Studies, March 2015

128 Freedom C. Onuoha, and Temilola A. George, 'Boko Haram's use of Female Suicide Bombing in Nigeria'

129 Andy Campbell, 'Timeline of Violent Boko Haram Attacks in 2015', Available at http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/timeline-of-violent-boko-haram-attacks-in-2015_us_564cf325e4b031745cefa4fa Accessed on 20th October 2016

130 Marc-Antoine Pérouse de Montclos, 'Nigeria's Interminable Insurgency, 13

131 Marc-Antoine Pérouse de Montclos, 'Nigeria's Interminable Insurgency, 13

and posting of nauseous videos online, all aimed at instilling fear in the minds of the people of Nigeria in particular and the world in general.

Conclusion

There is no conclusive agreement as to the origin of global terrorism. However, modern terrorism can be traced to France during its Revolution (1793-1794), when Maximilien Robespierre introduced state-sponsored terrorism against opposition members.¹³² Such state terrorism was carried out to maintain state power and the status quo by stifling opponents and controlling the masses after the French Revolution.¹³³ State terrorism, as exemplified in France, was later replicated in Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, and Stalinist Russia.¹³⁴ In Russia, the Bolsheviks, led by Lenin and later Stalin, embarked on state terrorism to maintain government control by systematically intimidating and frightening the Soviet society.

However, terrorism on the global scene has been exacerbated by the emergence of two major rebel factions from the Syrian Civil War that share al-Qaeda's ideology. They are Jabhat al-Nusra (JN), which was founded at the beginning of 2012 by Abu Mohammed al-Jawlani, and the Islamic State of Iraq and ash-Sham (ISIS). In April 2013, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, the leader of the Islamic State of Iraq (ISI, the umbrella front for al-Qaeda in Iraq), announced the merger of JN and ISI, thereby forming a new Islamist polity, ISIS, which included territories in Iraq and Syria (ash-Sham). Thus, ISIS has become a major threat to world peace today more than any other terrorist group as its activities cut across most of the continents of the world, including Africa, where the Nigerian terror group Boko Haram is allegedly its affiliate, with incalculable casualties and losses.¹³⁵

This paper has argued that terrorism remains a menace to the world. Drawing on examples from Europe, the United States of America, South America, Asia and China, the paper has advanced that all these regions are inundated by terrorist attacks. We have also explored the close link between terrorism and religious fundamentalism with Islam being the main driver. Of late, terrorist attacks have also extended to women as suicide bombers. There is convincing evidence that terrorist attacks are on the increase and have not gone down despite the killing of Osama bin Laden in 2011. The killings by these terror groups have involved some of the most brutal and heinous acts of barbarity the modern world has witnessed. Africa has become one of the worst victims of terrorist attacks in the 21st century and no clear solution seems to be in sight as the challenge intensifies.

¹³²Mark Sageman

¹³³Brian Forst, *Terrorism, Crime, and Public Policy* (Cambridge University Press, 2008) 29

¹³⁴Brian Forst

¹³⁵Aymenn Jawad Al-Tamimi, 'The Dawn of the Islamic State of Iraq and ash-Sham', [2014] (27) Middle East Forum, Available at <http://www.meforum.org/3732/islamic-state-iraq-ash-sham> accessed on 7th November 2018